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[583]

in lieu of the death penalty<sup>21</sup> and they also served as betrothal presents.<sup>22</sup>

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[685]

A village or a group of villages would possess fishing grounds in common. These were open to the free use of the members of the group but were prohibited to outsiders and violations of fishing grounds had to be compensated. In the *Hokkaidō Dojin Hōshiki Sonota Zatsujī Dai-Ryakuchō* [HDHS] [Great Abridged Compendium of the Laws and Other Matters of the Hokkaidō Natives] it says:

[224]  
[685]

In hunting or fishing, in the mountains or the sea, there was usually a boundary between districts and it was forbidden to hunt or fish in the territory of another district. In hunting, when people from Hitaka and Tokachi poached in the Ishikari region any native who apprehended them was authorized to confiscate their skins after interrogation. They were not deprived of their catch prior to questioning.

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According to the native Mombetsu Urenbōku,<sup>23</sup>

There is a boundary within which we can catch deer, bear, and fish and the natives of the village are not allowed to hunt outside their territory. If they went into other territory, they would be immediately punished.

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While it may seem that the above divisions were the result of the *Basho* contract system, the fact seems to be that the *Basho* themselves were divided according to the hunting and fishing territories of the Ainu. For example, here is a judgment rendered in 1767 when the *Atsuta Basho* and the *Masuke Basho* quarreled over their boundary line, "Affairs in Ezo shall be settled according to the custom of the Ezo."<sup>24</sup> A more positive proof lies in the fact that this custom of boundaries is found in the island of Etorofu where no *Basho* was established. In *Etorofu Shi* [History of Etorofu] under the year 1809 it says,

[671]

There are boundaries, both in the mountains and the sea of which the chiefs are in charge. Outside one's own boundary one is prohibited from so much as even cutting a blade of grass. In the event that one sights a group of whales he is to receive permission from the chief of the territory and the catch is to be apportioned under the orders of the chief. The law is very stringent and anyone violating it is deprived of his catch as a punitive compensation after a charge and deliberation.

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The quarrels among the Ainu communities were chiefly over hunting and fishing rights. Not only were hunting and fishing grounds communally owned but the community hunted and fished as a unit. In the *Ezo Kembun Shi* [A History of Personal Experiences in Ezo] 7, there is a translation of an epic or *Yukara* (in reality an *Isotaku* or hunting legend) supposedly dictated by an Ezo from Osarubetsu which gives a vivid description of how the Ainu help each other in bear

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<sup>21</sup> Kindaichi Kyōsuke, *Yukara Kenkyū* (Studies in *Yukara*) 2: 240.

<sup>22</sup> Kōnō Tsunekichi, *Kyūdojin* (Aborigines), 8.

<sup>23</sup> *Hokkaidō Times*, June 29, 1918.

<sup>24</sup> Matsumae Hironaga, *Fukuyama Hiji Kokon Sojō-bu* (Section on Petitions, Fukuyama archives) in *SHS* 5: 234.

## CHAPTER XXV

### ON MARRIAGE

Although among the Ainu in olden times little children were sometimes betrothed to one another by their parents, the young men and women, as a rule, did their own courting freely, the marriage arrangements alone being left to the fathers and mothers of the ones affianced, and at all times both the young man and his choice had a final say in the matter. It was also thought as proper for a girl to propose to a young man as for a young man to "pop the question" himself. It was a continuous "Leap Year" with them. If the young man made the first proposal, he asked his father and mother to call upon the parents of his choice and try to arrange the marriage, but if it was the young woman who did the wooing, she would get her own father or mother to call upon the parents of her loved one. If all went well, the marriage took place, but, if the elders would not agree, the young people have been known to take the law into their own hands and walk off. [562]

After a father had duly called on a friend and asked the hand of a daughter for his son in marriage, the following little ceremony took place between them, if all had gone well. The father of the bridegroom took a small sword which he placed in the hands of the bride's father, and said, "This sword is a pledge of betrothal; take it and worship. Do thou pray to the Goddess of Fire." Then, having received the sword, the bride's father would worship the Fire Goddess, offer libations of *sake* and say, "We have here and now [585]

585 settled to marry our son and daughter; therefore, O thou Goddess of Fire, hear thou and be witness thereto. Keep this couple from sickness and harm; watch over them till they become old." The bridegroom's father then received the sword back, worshipped and drank libations in like manner. This done, the old people, having procured a good supply of *saké*, made a feast which they partook of with their friends and relations. This drink was called *swechis saké*, i.e. matrimonial *saké*. The bride poured some into a cup and gave it to her *sancté*, and he, after drinking a little, returned the cup to her to finish. The feast itself was called *swechis marapto*, i.e. matrimonial feast. With this, the couple were man and wife. If they were to live with their [591] parents, well and good; if not, they would build themselves a small hut to dwell in, one which they might enlarge at any time they thought necessary.

● 583 If the young woman herself or her parents were  
591 the prime movers in the affair, the bridegroom was removed from his own family and took up his abode either in or close to the hut of his father-in-law; he was, in fact, adopted. But if the bridegroom did the wooing or his parents were the prime movers, the bride was adopted into his family. Or, if a woman of one village chose a man of another for her husband, he went to live with her, and if the man chose a woman who lived some distance away, she went to live with him. Persons who married in their own villages were called *siwusak*, blood relations, or brethren, but those who removed from their homes to be married into some distant family were called *siwusak*, relations brought in, or distant relations.

582 The people considered their daughters to be mar-  
585 riageable at about sixteen or seventeen years of age. The men married when about nineteen or twenty. The youngest marriage I have yet seen among them took place when the bride's age was really as little as fifteen. At this feast there was nothing but a supply

858 betrothed were not absolutely bound to marry when  
 582 the time came. Either of them could veto the decision  
 of their elders. A very curious thing about this be-  
 trothal was that the boy and girl exchanged clothing  
 and homes until the season for their union came  
 round. Then, if the parents of the lad were the prime  
 [591] movers in the proposal, the young lady remained at  
 his home, but if otherwise, the bridegroom went to  
 live with the bride's parents or at least in her village.

858 When children were betrothed quite young, the  
 562 bride was brought to the home of the groom and reared  
 with him. If she was younger than he, she was called  
*chireskhe-mat*, i.e. "the female being brought up"; but  
 if they were both of the same age and not very young,  
 she was named *utoreskhe-mat*, i.e., "living-together-  
 female," for they were practically husband and wife.

● 583 It was a custom among this people for the parents  
 to bring a girl into the family whom they desired their  
 son to marry, and see how he and she got on together.  
 If they took to one another, well and good; if not, the  
 young lady was returned whence she came. I saw this  
 done twice in one family. Number One young lady  
 was brought in for the elder son to become acquainted  
 with, but no sooner did he find her in the house than  
 he walked off and did not return till she had departed.  
 I was sorry for this, for I had engaged him as my  
 teacher of the Ainu language. Then Number Two was  
 soon brought in. No sooner did he discover her than  
 off he walked again and once more I lost my good  
 teacher. But she also was soon packed off and he re-  
 turned. It was a big disappointment to his parents,  
 but after that they allowed him to make his own choice  
 of a bride.

582 The people, I found, sometimes married their  
 cousins and in some instances their nieces, and the men  
 married a deceased brother's wife and became foster-  
 fathers to the children. But there was a more remote  
 relationship where union by marriage could not take

## ON MARRIAGE

201

The following is a remarkable legend of the Tungus<sup>583</sup> and is interesting inasmuch as it offers an explanation as to how it first came about that their women made the first offers to the men for marriage.

It is well known among the Ainu that there is an<sup>144</sup> admixture of Oroka, Ghilyak and Tungusic blood in the veins of some of their folk who live in the north. The legend now to be given is not really Ainu but is from the Oroka, as told about the Tungus, and recited in the northern Ainu dialect. As might perhaps be expected,<sup>[184]</sup> the language is a little mixed, for it contains words in Oroka, Ghilyak, Tungus and Ainu; with one word also in Oltsky and another from up the Amur River.

"Long, long ago, in very ancient times indeed, there<sup>539</sup> were two Tungus, a father and his son, living together in the same house. They were very poor. Some distance away from them there lived in another village a rich man together with his wife, also Tungus. The rich man went hunting among the mountains with his dogs every season, and killed many animals. He took large numbers of pine-martens, otters and foxes. As for the poor man, he also went hunting every year with his dogs but could get no more than about ten pine-martens, ten otters and ten foxes. His rich neighbours heard about this and chuckled.

"One year, after the poor man had finished setting his snares for pine-martens, he went farther into the mountains with his dogs to hunt game. He spent the first night in the open, and the next day went on again still farther. He continued thus daily till he came to the rich man's village. He entered his house and found that the husband was away from home. The wife was alone in the house and he was very much pleased to find her there. On looking round he was highly delighted to see the house full of pelts hanging in clusters. They were pine-marten, otter and fox skins. It was a sight grand to behold. The beautiful housewife

539 But one day the birds came and told me that a gentleman was coming from afar to pay me a visit.\*

"In two days' time I heard the creaking of boat oars off the coast, and very soon recognized a sound of footsteps on the path, as of a man approaching. Almost immediately a gentleman clothed in a beautiful black robe came in and sat down close beside me. Upon seeing him I felt happy indeed! I thought immediately in my heart, 'I will marry this man. I will make him keep me.' So thought I. That selfsame day we were married, he and I. After that I lived in plenty as I had done before.

"When two years had elapsed, we found ourselves so pleased with one another that we decided to let the marriage stand for good.\*\*

"We were both very powerful in magic and so had no children.†

"We grew to be very old and died without issue. Our two bodies died, but there was no burial. There is no trace of us in the underworld. We vanished quite away and there are no men and women to be found where we are gone. The true gods have sent us away.††

[825] \*The man who placed the fur over his head was a metamorphosed bear. He was killed in combat with the trout, but now assumes the form of a man again and is about to marry the woman.

● [583] \*\*It was customary among this people to have a preliminary or temporary marriage, to see how the couple got on together, and then, if all was well, have a proper ceremonial marriage later, or, if not, to separate.

[942] †It is said by the Ainu folk that people who were famous for their occult and magical powers seldom had any offspring.

††This means to say that the kingdom to which they went was the kingdom of the bears among the mountains.

## A REMARKABLE AINU LOVE TRAGEDY 441

brass rings, her ear-rings, beads, and necklace, her  
 harp, a weaving loom, some thread, a cooking pot, two  
 wooden spoons, two bowls and eating cups, a water  
 ladle, a small knife, a few dumplings to eat on the  
 way, a few dried fish, and a little millet. These she  
 tied up in a neat bundle and rolled in a mat. Nor did  
 she forget to fix all up securely, ready for a sudden  
 departure, in a carrying-sling, the headpiece of which  
 she had made soft and beautifully ornamented. When  
 all was prepared, she hid it away very carefully among  
 some bushes by a little stream, and then returned  
 home to await the moment arranged for the elopement.

Kutri brought a long and short knife, an axe, his  
 fine yew bow, elegantly decorated with thin slithers  
 of cherry bark, a quiver well filled with arrows, a good  
 supply of aconite poison, some stout string, a few  
 strong sandals made of deer and fish skins, a cup and  
 moustache-lifter, a bear-skin bag containing tinder  
 and a fire drill, a fox skull for divination and a tray or  
 two upon which to place skull fetishes and offerings  
 to the deities. He also carried some bear's galls as  
 medicine. Ever thinking of his dearly beloved Yai-  
 mah, he took one thing he believed she might possibly  
 forget, and which as it happened she surely did over-  
 look, namely, a pair of scissors. Later, when they  
 unpacked their bundles in their new home and he pro-  
 duced the scissors, her pleasure was unbounded. Her  
 face lit up with true love and her eyes flashed with  
 joy. Her beautiful moon-like face beamed with smiles.  
 She, too, had thought that Kutri might possibly for-  
 get something, and, so, not to be outdone, she produced  
 from her work-bag a fine deer decoy and handed it to  
 him. Great was his pleasure and loud his laughter  
 when he saw it, for he found that he had quite forgotten  
 to bring one! The rafters of their little hut rang again  
 and again with the ripple of Yai-mah's lovely voice,  
 and the musical roar of Kutri's melodious accompani-

539 ment was delightful to hear. They were overjoyed to  
831 find that when busy preparing to set off on their  
● 583 journey together, each had been so filled with thought  
for the other in little things.

When all was ready and the night of departure had arrived, they came quietly to the rendezvous, each followed by a fine hunting dog as companion. These faithful creatures seemed quite to understand what was on foot, for when their master and mistress took up their bundles and silently moved off towards the mountains they placed themselves in front and trotted on a little ahead, as though to show them the way. Then came the man, with Yai-mah, being a woman, behind. On they went tramping along for twice six days, camping each night in some secluded nook near water. When they started each morning, Kutri's dog alone went ahead, while that of Yai-mah followed close behind its mistress as though to prevent a surprise from the rear. The dogs seemed to know that there might be danger. On the evening of the twelfth day they came to a beautiful glade, in the midst of which there was a lovely tarn, the clear blue waters of which rippled with the movements of trout as they sported on the surface. The land round the tarn was a plain covered with most luxuriant green grass, in which were two big companies of fat deer peacefully feeding. One was a herd of fine bucks, and the other consisted of does with their fawns. Not far off were other small lakes, on which could be seen many geese and wild ducks resting quietly. All appeared to be most gentle and tame. In the light of the setting sun it was like the kingdom of the gods. It was grand beyond description, and there, right under a big elm-tree, which would yield fine bast for weaving into cloth, they determined to build their house and make it their permanent abode.

## A REMARKABLE AINU LOVE TRAGEDY 443

They laid themselves down under a tree and slept 539 there the first night, in the open. The twinkling stars 831 came out one by one, and the silver moon, climbing 583 up into the heavens, made the shadows of the forest trees behind them move like living beings as it coursed its way across the skies.

*Pau, pau*, called the foxes in the distance, and the cries of the night birds, as they flitted overhead just above the trees, were loud and constant. Yet they heard them not. The pine-martens came out of their holes and watched the sleepers with their sparkling, saucy eyes, but they saw them not. A fine fat buck unsuspectingly approaching the place where they lay, soon scented them. He sniffed, stamped his foot on the ground, whistled, and bounded off to report to his family. But Kutri was quite unaware of it. A bear roared not far away but Yai-mah slept in peace. The winds whispered in the tree tops and made a rustling among the leaves of the elms. A moonbeam rested peacefully on Yai-mah's smiling upturned face and softened it by adding to its divine beauty, while Kutri lay with his head pillowed on his arm, snoring with a pleasing rhythmic measure. It was a heavenly sight!

The night passed and at early dawn they awoke to a new day amid the whistling of the striped and red squirrels as they scudded about the tree trunks and branches, and the whirring of the tree-grouse and quails as they rose and flew away. The insolent jay alone seemed to scream defiance. The drumming of woodcocks and the quack of the ducks, together with the song of the skylark, were delightful to hear. It was splendid!

They did not hear the hoot of the owl, and little did they dream of the tragedy which was to follow. And so they abode in a fancied security. But alas, a sad end was soon to come to this peace!

## FUNDAMENTAL CONCEPTS

In presenting Pase-Kamui as the 'one true God' of Ainu belief, Batchelor has, it seems to me, in all sincerity adapted Ainu beliefs to his own, and it is probable that some Ainu, wishing to please him, echoed some of his religious teaching. The word *pase* means weighty or important. During my long residence at Nibutani I observed many ceremonies and discussed matters of belief with many elders of good standing, and was always told that there are many *pase-kamui*, of whom Kando-koro Kamui is one. So far as I know he gets no special worship anywhere, but whether or not there is any exception to this it is safe to say that the term *pase-kamui* is generally applied as an indication of reverence to at least a dozen *kamui*, and is never a name for one alone.

In the Saru and Mukawa districts, embracing a wide area, the following are recognized as *pase-kamui* by most elders, though not all are positive about every one in the list: Kamui Fuchi, Nusakoro Kamui, Shiramba Kamui, Hash-inau-uk Kamui, Wakka-ush Kamui, Chisei-koro Kamui, Kotan-koro Kamui, Shinrit Kamui, Kanna Kamui, Kenru Katkimat, Chup Kamui, Imosh Kamui, and the important theriomorphic kamui Kim-un Kamui or Metot-ush Kamui (the Bear Kamui), Rep-un Kamui, Kinashut Kamui, Korokeu Kamui and Shitumbe Kamui.

In the north, Kanna Kamui, the thunder god, is given a special *inau*. There is an old saying that he fertilizes the soil, and this belief may be due to the traditional identification of lightning with the serpent.

Storm gods are not worshipped. Gales from the east and south are believed to be sent by evil spirits, but, curiously, wind from the north is good. An old poem, quoted in full in *Man*, Mar. 1938,<sup>1</sup> seems to praise the north wind for having brought the ships of their ancestors to the present abode of the Ainu.

The sun, Chup Kamui (shining thing), formerly received much more worship than now, though the moon (darkness-shining, *kunna-chup*, night-shining, *an-chup*, or *tombe*<sup>2</sup>) as humble wife of the sun, appears to have been ignored. Many years ago, at Oshoro on the west coast of Hokkaido, I photographed and drew to scale

Batchelor. Munro does not mention Kotan-kara Kamui, but frequently refers to Kotan-koro Kamui, the Eagle-Owl Kamui. The importance of the cult of the Eagle Owl is referred to in Chapter XII, p. 133.—B.Z.S.

<sup>1</sup> Munro, *Yashurekarepa: an Old Ainu Oration*, *Man*, March 1938, No. 33.

<sup>2</sup> Batchelor, *An Ainu English-Japanese Dictionary and Grammar*, Tokyo, 1903.

## SOCIAL ORGANIZATION

lated, and who wanted to marry, to discuss the matter with elders, and the girl would be allowed to change her *kut*. Previously a fine used to be imposed and the parents of the couple would be obliged to placate Kamui Fuchi and beg her permission to alter the *kut*. 582 [611] [782]

A few cases of a man marrying two sisters were recorded in a neighbouring village, and one of a man who divorced his first wife and afterwards married her sister. Misfortune followed, including dumb offspring and children who died young. The people of Nibutani were shocked, and would attribute any misfortune to such behaviour. 595 587 688

Marriage between half-brothers and sisters, the children of different mothers, though not transgressing *kut* exogamy, was looked upon with disgust. Munro was told of one such case, of which the offspring were deaf and dumb with the exception of one child who had a hare-lip. Such a departure from customary behaviour was considered offensive to the ancestors, and their displeasure might affect the whole community, as well as the evil-doers. 588 688

In a note published in *Man*, No. 33: 1938, Munro records a poem recited at a wedding and gives some details of the wedding ceremony. Wedding gifts are exchanged but there is no definite payment of bride wealth. The bridegroom usually sends the materials for the sacred beer to be made at the bride's house for the wedding feast. Guests are assembled and Kamui Fuchi is invoked. As a salutation, the bride's father holds a cup of the sacred beer in his left hand and, stroking it gently to and fro, makes a speech in poetic form. He places a libation wand on the cup and in the usual ceremonial manner passes it to the bridegroom who drinks half and hands the remainder to the bride. As she receives it, she raises it to the level of her forehead, swings it gently three times from right to left, and then drinks. As she drinks, she performs the female ritual salutation, drawing the forefinger of the right hand up the left arm from the fingers to her upper lip, and says '*hap*', which indicates thankfulness. Should she refuse to drink there would be no marriage. Though the ceremony is held in the house of the bride's father, the bride goes to live in her husband's house in his father's village, but she may return for the birth of her first child. 585 782 [583] 576 [788] [591] [844]

With regard to inheritance, all essentially female property (*kuchi-korpe*) is inherited by daughters from their mother. Mr Sugiura 428